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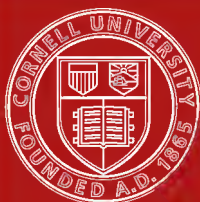
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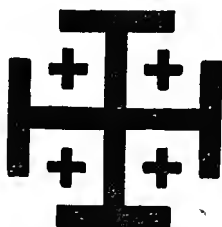
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THE HODŒPORICON OF SAINT WILLIBALD.



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THE HODŒPORICON

OF

SAINT WILLIBALD.

(CIRCA 754 A.D.)

Translated by

REV. CANON BROWNLOW, M.A.,

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



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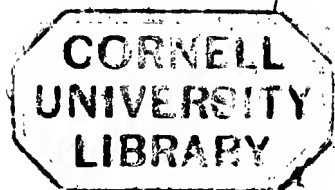
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INTRODUCTION.

THE first English pilgrim to the Holy Land was St. Willibald, afterwards Bishop of Eichstadt, and, through his mother, nephew to Wynfrith, who is better known as St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany. Willibald's mother was Winna, a connection of Ina, King of Wessex, and his father was Richard, who bore the title of king, though the locality of his kingdom has long been a puzzle to antiquarians. John Evelyn visited Lucca in 1645, and says of the church of St. Frediano that it

'is more remarkable to us for the corpse of St. Richard, an English king, who died here in his pilgrimage towards Rome. This epitaph is on his tomb :

Hic rex Richardus requiescit, sceptifer, almus :
Rex fuit Anglorum, regnum tenet iste Polorum.
Regnum demisit pro Christo cuncta reliquit.
Ergo Richardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum.
Hic genitor Sanctæ Walburgæ Virginis almæ
Est Vrillebaldi Sancti simul et Vinebaldi,
Suffragium quorum nobis det regna Polorum.¹

Two accounts of Willibald's pilgrimage have come down to us. One is the *Itinerarium S. Willibaldi*, written by one of the deacons or companions of the Bishop, but whose name has not been preserved. It is apparently written from memory, and not finished until after Willibald's death.

¹ *Diary*, May 21, 1645. The W seems to have puzzled the sculptor.

The other and more valuable account is called the *Hodæporicon* (ὁδοιπορικὸν βιβλίον—guide-book), written by one of the nuns of the Abbey of Heidenheim, a monastery founded by St. Boniface, and presided over by St. Walburga. Although the *Hodæporicon* was not completed until after Willibald's death, the authoress,¹ an English lady and a relation of the Bishop, had listened to Willibald relating his travels, and from his own dictation and with his approval, in the presence of two deacons, who were fellow-listeners, had taken down these narratives on paper. The style is unpolished; she indulges in occasional digressions, and is given to heaping up a number of adjectives to emphasize her meaning. But one can read between the lines the eager curiosity of the young nun, anxious to know all she could of the places which were so dear to her heart, and which the pilgrim had actually visited. The repetitions and ampliations of the descriptions are evidently the answers to questions put to him while he was telling his tale. The first nine chapters of the *Hodæporicon* contain an account of Willibald's childhood and life before he set out on his pilgrimage, and as these do not concern the topography of Palestine, it has been thought better to epitomize them. The portions omitted will be indicated by The last eight chapters are devoted to his life after his return to Italy. These are also condensed.

It must be borne in mind that Willibald was an old man and a great prelate at the time when his narrative was taken down, and that the biographer, while recounting the adventures of his youth, had ever before her eyes the venerable personality of the Bishop. A few words may help to bring that personality before us, as it impressed those who knew him in his later years.

¹ A marginal note on the Paris MS., written in the fifteenth century, states her name to have been Roswida.

When Willibald was sent by St. Boniface to Eichstadt, he found it a wild tract of forest, which he had to clear with his axe, while he preached the Gospel to the roving tribes who hunted there. The fortieth chapter of the *Hodæporicon* shows the vast change that he effected. As long as his uncle lived, Willibald was his chancellor, and sat at his right hand in those great councils which consolidated the reforms carried out by St. Boniface. After his uncle's martyrdom in 754, Willibald took a leading position among the bishops, and kept alive the traditions of the Apostle of Germany through the first twenty years of the reign of Charlemagne. His own see of Eichstadt was now a rich and fertile region, studded with towns and villages, clustering round the numerous churches and monasteries which his zeal had founded. His thirty-ninth successor in the see, Philip, gives the following sketch of his character :

‘His alms were great, his watchings often, his prayers frequent. He was perfect in charity and gentleness. His conversation was very holy ; the openness of his heart was reflected in the placidity of his face, and its affectionate kindness in the sweetness of his speech ; and all that pertained to the life eternal he exemplified in deed as he preached in word.

‘His look was majestic and terrible to gainsayers ; awfully severe, yet adorably kind. His step was stately and grave. When he reproved by authority, humility tempered the rebuke ; and whilst the frown was gathering on his brow to threaten the guilty, the kindness of his heart was pleading for them within. . . . And these graces were so in him united, that, though his presence was awful, his absence was painful. . . . His abstinence was very great ; for, from contemplating our Saviour's sufferings in his pilgrimage and retirement, his heart was so wounded that tears were his food day and night.’¹

He died in the year 785, over eighty years of age, and his body now rests in his own cathedral church at Eichstadt.

The *Hodæporicon* was printed by Henry Canisius in his *Lectiones Antiquæ*, of which the best edition is by Basnage,

¹ Bolland., *Acta SS.*, July 7.

in 1603 ; but Canisius seems only to have known one MS., now in Paris.

In 1672, Mabillon reprinted it from Canisius in the *Acta SS. O.S.B.*, with corrections from Gretser's edition of Bishop Philip's *History of the Bishops of Eichstadt*. In 1721, the Bollandists reprinted it again ; and T. Tobler, in 1873, incorporated it among his *Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*. The *Itinerarium* is likewise printed in all these works. The present translation is made from the edition of the last-mentioned author, published in 1879, at Geneva, by J. G. Fick, for the *Société de l'Orient Latin*.

The headings of the chapters are evidently by a later hand, and are not printed either by Canisius or the Bollandists.

Canisius has published a third life of St. Willibald, which he attributes to Reginald, who died Bishop of Eichstadt in 989. Mabillon does not admit it to be the work of that prelate, who is said to have composed a life in verse. The life in question only occupies three pages and a half of the third volume of Basnage's edition of Canisius, and adds nothing either in the way of information or illustration to the narratives here translated.

THE HODŒPORICON
OF
SAINT WILLIBALD.

PROLOGUE.

To all reverend and most beloved in Christ . . . priests, . . . deacons, . . . abbots, and all superiors, whom our kind Bishop by virtue of his pastoral care was accustomed . . . to nourish diligently throughout his diocese as his own children, . . . I, unworthy child of the Saxon race, the last of those who have come hither from their land, who am, in comparison with those my countrymen, not only in years, but in virtue also, only a poor little creature. I had made up my mind to address you, religious and catholic men, . . . a few words on the beginning of the early life of the venerable man, Willibald. Yet I am but a woman, tainted with the frailty of my sex, with no pretensions to wisdom or cleverness to support me, but prompted solely by the violence of my own will, like a little ignorant child plucking a few flowers here and there from numerous branches rich in foliage and in fruit. So I pluck twigs from the lowest branches with what small skill I possess, and offer these few things to serve you as a memorial. . . .

But now, first by the grace of God and the greatness of the venerable man who had seen such great wonders, and next by the strong assistance of your willing consent and help, I thought I might ask for [power to fulfil my work]. The

loftiness [of the theme] and the great signs and wonders which our Lord, for the salvation of the human race, vouchsafed to do and bring to perfection, by humbling Himself, by condescending to assume a human body in this world,—these things were known corporally by the eyes of the venerable man, Willibald, who with his own feet visited all [the places], and with the touch of his own hands made them appear visibly to him. All these matters we shall dwell upon in our narrative. And not only the wonders which, by the grace of the Gospel, are proved to us as certain, did he see, but also those very spots of the earth where our Lord manifested Himself to us in His Birth, His Passion, and His Resurrection ; and also other traces of wonders and powers, which our Lord deigned to produce and spread abroad in this world, that clear-sighted teacher of us all, strong in faith, in long journeys by sea and land, searched out and visited and saw. Hence, if I may say so, it seemed to me to be shameful that a human tongue should keep all these things in the obstinacy of a dumb silence with sealed lips, which our Lord had deigned to reveal to His servant by the toil of His body, and shown to him by the sight of His eyes even in our own times. We know that these things were related to us, not by the indulgence of apocryphal stories in erratic discourse ; but as we heard them in his presence relating them to us, we listened, and determined to write from the dictation of his own mouth, two deacons being present and listening with me, on the ninth day before the Kalends of July [June 23], the day before the solstice.

I, an obscure individual, do not undertake this work, O ye great men of letters, because I am unaware of your talents . . . but because, unworthy as I am, I know that I am born of the same genealogical root with them, though it may be of the lowest stalks of the branches, and, therefore, felt disposed to put in the hands of the reader

something worthy of memory concerning such great and venerable men . . . of whom one was a prelate invested with the highest prerogative of the priestly rank and pastoral care, the renowned lover of the Cross, the great Master Willibald. And the other, taking hold of the path of solid virtue, making crooked things straight, smoothing down and refining the erring, the rough, and the fierce ; not treating with a mind lazily and tepidly wavering the thickly-sown and shameless vices of the worldly and the sinful, but with the happy audacity of rashness, duly strengthened from on high by the zeal of wisdom, he perseveringly and with constant labour did away with all these evils. He it was who, counted as a prelate from his sacerdotal rank and pastoral honour, was our Abbot, the renowned lover of the cross, Wunebald.

All these things on the white surface of fields [of paper] I have ploughed with my pen, and left furrowed tracks written in black [ink], which are now offered to your loving knowledge. Against all the censures of the envious God's grace and yours [will be] the shield of our protection, and yet we calmly commend them to your acceptance, so that in all things we may joyfully praise our Lord, our Deliverer, and the giver of all [good] gifts.

I.—*How it is proposed to write the Life.*

I proposed to commence the putting together of this little work by making known the first beginning of the life of that venerable high priest of God, Willibald, . . . and then the middle stage of his youth, and the course of his life unto old age, and even unto decay. . . .

II.—*While an Infant he is attacked with a grievous illness.*

When he . . . had been nurtured from his cradle with great affection, and had reached to the age of three years,

it came to pass . . . that a grievous bodily weakness attacked him, and his failing breath gave warning of the end of his life being at hand. . . .

III.—*His Parents promise for their Child that he should lead a Monastic Life.*

. . . And when his parents, in great anxiety of mind, were held in suspense as to the death of their son, they made an offering of him before the great Cross of our Lord and Saviour. For it is the custom of the Saxon race that on many of the estates of nobles and of good men they are wont to have, not a church, but the standard of the holy Cross, dedicated to our Lord, and revered with great honour, lifted up on high, so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily prayer. They laid him there before the Cross, and earnestly, and with all their might, begged our Lord God, the Maker of all things, to console them, and save their son's life. And then they promised in their most fervent prayers to make a return to the Lord, so that, if the health of that child were restored, they would at once offer him to receive the tonsure, as the first commencement of Holy Order, and would place him under the yoke of the service of Christ under the discipline of monastic life. . . . Immediately after they had vowed their vows their words were fulfilled; they commended their son to the heavenly King as His soldier, and speedily obtained from the Lord the effect of their petitions, and the former health of the child was restored to him.

IV.—*On the Childhood of Willibald; he is taken to the Monastery of Waldheim.*

When that illustrious boy had arrived at his fifth year, . . . his parents hastened to fulfil their promises; and, as

soon as possible, after consultation with their noble friends and kinsfolk,¹ they lost no time in preparing him for the means of entering upon monastic life. They commended him to a venerable and most trustworthy man, Theodred. They begged him to conduct him with all care to the monastery, and to make arrangements and dispose all things prudently in his behalf. And when they took him to the monastery which is called Waldheim,² they offered him to the Abbot Egwald. . . . The Abbot . . . laid the case before his community. . . . The whole community all gave their unanimous consent, accepted him, and associated him at once with them in community life.

V.—*He perseveres in Sacred Learning, and in the Life of a Monk.*

After this, that modest child, perfected and imbued with the holy studies of the Scriptures, scanned with shrewd application of mind the sacred pages of David's Psalms, and other treasuries of the holy writers of the Divine Law, . . . according to the words of the prophet, 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings [God] is wont to perfect His praise.' Hence, as the age of years and sagacity of mind increased, . . . he was wholly converted to the love of God, and with long and daily meditation . . . day and night he turned over in his mind how he should unite himself to the chaste family of those monks, or how he could be a partaker of their joys by the discipline of community life.

VI.—*Pilgrimage comes into his mind.*

And then . . . he began to ponder upon how he could carry out into effect this idea ; that he should strive to

¹ This family council is a confirmation of the princely rank of St. Richard.

² Waltham.

despise and renounce all the perishing things of this world, and forsake, not only the temporal riches of earthly property, but also his country, his parents and kindred, and attempt to seek another land by a pilgrimage, and to explore the unknown regions of foreign places. . . .

VII.—*His Father consents, and, together with his son Wunebald, enters into the design of going abroad.*

Afterwards that youth . . . opened the secrets of his heart to his father according to the flesh, and begged him, with earnest prayers, to give his advice and consent to the desire of his will, and he asked him not only to give him permission to go—but also to go with him himself. . . . And he so allured him by the sweet promises of the oracles of God to accompany his sons, and to visit the renowned threshold of Peter, prince of the Apostles. Now his father, at first, when he asked him, declined the journey, excusing himself on account of his wife, and the youth and frailty of his growing children, and answered that it would be dishonourable and cruel to deprive them of his protection, and leave them to strangers. Then that warlike soldier of Christ, repeated his solemn exhortations, and the persistence of his prayers . . . so that at last, by the aid of Almighty God, the will of the petitioner and exhorter prevailed, and that father of his and his brother Wunebald promised that they would start on the course he had desired and exhorted them to run.

VIII.—*On Willibald's crossing over, his journey to Rome : Hamel-Mouth, the Seine, Rouen, the Gorthonic Land, Lucca, the Basilica of St. Peter.*

After this, therefore . . . his father and unmarried brother commenced their predestined and chosen journey.

And at a suitable time in the summer they were ready and prepared. Taking with them the means of livelihood, with a band of friends accompanying them, they came to the appointed place, which was known by the ancient name of Hamel-Muth,¹ near to that port which is called Hamwih. . . . And then, having crossed the sea . . . they saw in safety the dry land. At once they gave thanks and disembarked, and pitched their tents there on the banks of the river which is named the Seine,² near the city which is called Rouen,³ where was a market.

And after resting there some days, they began to proceed, and made their petitions in prayer at many shrines of the saints that were conveniently situated for them. And so by degrees going on from place to place, they came over into the Gorthonic⁴ land. And going on, they came to the city which is called Lucca.⁵ Hitherto, Willibald and Wunebald had conducted their father with them in their company on the journey. But [at Lucca] he was all at once attacked with a sudden failure of bodily strength, such that, after a short time, the day of his end was at hand. And the disease increasing upon him, his worn out and cold bodily limbs wasted away, and thus he breathed out his life's last breath. Those two brothers, his sons, then took the lifeless body of their father, and with the affection of filial devotion, wrapped it in beautiful clothes, and buried it at St. Frigidian, in the city of Lucca. There rests their father's body.

¹ The Hamble falls into the Southampton water about six miles below the present town.

² *Sigona*.

³ *Rotum*, apparently a contracted form of *Rotomagum*.

⁴ Possibly *Dertonicum*, or the neighbourhood of Dertona, the chief town in Liguria, and called Chortuna in an ancient Life of Charlemagne.

⁵ *Luca*.

Without delay they went on steadily through the vast lands of Italy, through the depths of the valleys, the steep heights of the mountains, the level plains, and at the difficult passes of the Alps they climbed on foot and directed their steps on high¹ . . . and by the aid of a kind God, and the support of the saints, with the whole body of their fellow-countrymen, and the whole band of their comrades, they all escaped the violence and cunning of armed men,² and arrived at the illustrious and renowned threshold of Peter, prince of the Apostles. There they besought his protection, and rendered unbounded thanks to Almighty God . . . that they had been counted worthy to approach the famous Basilica of St. Peter.

IX.—*Rome : they suffer from fever.*

Then those two brothers, remaining there from the Feast of St. Martin until another Paschal solemnity, . . . passed a happy life of monastic discipline under the government of the holy rule. But when the days began to shorten, and the summer heat increased, they were forthwith seized with great discomfort of body, which is usually the forewarning of fever. . . . But God, in the unwearied providence of His paternal love for His children, condescended to consult for and help them, so that one of the two had respite one week, and one the other, and thus they were able to minister to each other. . . .

¹ This must refer to the journey before reaching Lucca.

² In 721, the Saracen conquerors of Spain had been defeated by Duke Eudes beneath the walls of Toulouse. Liutprand, King of the Lombards, held armed possession of the greater part of Italy, while the Exarchs of Ravenna represented the decrepitude and tyranny of the Eastern empire, then under Leo the Isaurian ; Gregory II. was Pope.

X.—*Terracina, Gaieta, Naples, Rhegium, Catana, Mount Etna, Syracuse.*

Afterwards, that illustrious lover of the Cross of Christ . . . sighed after a longer and more unknown pilgrimage than that on which he now seemed to stand still. Then that vigorous one, after taking counsel and obtaining permission from his friends and countrymen, begged that they would follow him with the aid of their supplications, so that through all the course of the journey, by the protection of their prayers, he might be enabled to reach and gaze upon the walls of the delightful and longed-for city of Jerusalem.

When the Paschal solemnities of our Lord were over, the active warrior arose with his two companions and began to set out. And as they journeyed they came as far as the city of Terracina¹ in the east, and there remained two days. And, going on from thence, they came to the city of Gaieta, which stands on the sea-shore. There they went at once on board ship, and crossed over to Naples, where, leaving the ship in which they sailed, they stayed two weeks. These cities belong to the Romans; they are in the territory of Beneventum, but yet subject to the Romans. The goodness of God is wont to act unceasingly, so that it hastens to fulfil the longing desire of His servants; and thus at once they found a ship from Egypt, and they went on board of her, and sailed thence to the land of Calabria, to a city called Regia.² And after staying there two days, they set sail, and came to the Island of Sicily—that is, to the city of the Catanians—where rests the body of St. Agatha the virgin. There is Mount Etna; and when it happens for any reason that that [volcanic] fire chooses to pour itself out over the country, then the people of that

¹ *Canisius*, Daterina

² Reggio.

city take the veil of St. Agatha in haste, and place it in front of the fire, and it stops.¹ They were there three weeks. And sailing thence they came to the city of Syracuse in the same country.

XI.—*The Adriatic Sea, Monembasia, Chios, Samos, Ephesus, Phygala, Hierapolis, Patara, Miletus, Chelidonium, Cyprus, Paphos, Constantia.*

Sailing from Syracuse they crossed the Adriatic Sea, and reached the city of Manafasia,² in the land of Slavina.³ They thence sailed to the Island of Choo,⁴ leaving Corinth on their left, and thence to the Island of Samos. From hence they sailed to Asia to the city of Ephesus, about a mile from the sea. From this city they went on foot to the place where rest the Seven Sleepers.⁵ And then they walked to [the shrine of] St. John the Evangelist, situated in a beautiful spot, near Ephesus. Then they walked two miles along the sea-coast to a large town which is called Figila,⁶ and stayed there a day. And they begged some bread, and went to a well there in the middle of the town, and they sat on the edge of the well, and dipped their

¹ This is said in her *Acts* to have taken place first in A.D. 252, when the Pagans took her veil, the year after her martyrdom. See *Acta SS.*, February 5. The Bollandists give numerous examples in the twelfth and later centuries.

² Monembasia, a small town near the south of the Morea, on the site of the ancient Epidaurus Limera.

³ The Sclavonic Bulgarians were all-powerful at Constantinople, where they had placed Leo III. on the imperial throne. It is not, therefore, unnatural that the Morea should have been occupied by them.

⁴ Chios.

⁵ See Bolland., *Acta SS.*, July 27.

⁶ Phygala, called by Strabo Πύγελα, had a temple to Diana built by Agamemnon; Strabo, *Geogr.*, lib. xiv. Pliny spells it Phygela, lib. v., chap. 29.

bread in the water, and so ate it. Going thence on foot along by the sea, they came to the city of Strobolis¹ on a high mountain. And from thence they went to a place called Patara,² and there they remained until the dreadful freezing cold of the winter had passed. After this they again took ship, and arrived at the city which is called Milite.³ That city was once on the point of perishing in the water. There dwelt two monks on a 'stylite,' that is, a place built up and strengthened by a thick wall of stones, very high, so that the water cannot hurt them. From thence they crossed over to the mountain of the Galliani.⁴ That was all passed over ; and there they were so straitened by the sharpness of severe hunger, that their inward parts being torn with want of food, they began to be afraid that the fatal day of death was at hand. But the Almighty Pastor of His people deigned to provide food for His poor servants.

Sailing thence they came to the Island of Cyprus, which is situated between the Greeks and the Saracens, to the city of Paphos, and there they remained the three weeks of Easter after the turn of the year. Thence they went to the city of Constantia,⁵ where St. Epiphanius rests, and there they stayed until after the nativity of St. John the Baptist.

¹ Apparently Trogyllium ; but F. Meyrick identifies it with Hali-carnassus.

² Now in ruins on the sand-covered estuary of the Xanthus.

³ *Can.*, Militena. If Miletus is meant, the pilgrims must have landed here before reaching Patara. The only place on the map between Patara and Chelidonia is a town, now a village, called Myra, mentioned in Acts xxvii. 27, *Gr.* The Vulgate reads Lystra.

⁴ The promontory called *Promontorium Sacrum*, opposite to which are the islands of Chelidonia. See Strabo, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Costanza is near Famagosta, and was anciently called Salamis. St. Epiphanius was Bishop of Salamis for thirty-six years, and died in 403.

XII.—*Antarardus, Arca, Emesa: Captivity.*

Sailing from Cyprus, they came into the territory of the Saracens to the city of Tharrata¹ near the sea. And from thence they went on foot about nine or twelve miles to the village which is called Arche.² Here there was a Bishop of the Greek nation, and they had Litany according to their own rite.³ Going on from thence, they walked to a city which is called Emesa,⁴ twelve miles distance. There is a large church, which St. Helena built in honour of St. John the Baptist,⁵ and his head, which is now in Syria, was there for a long time.

There were then with Willibald seven of his fellow-

¹ Called Antaradus by the Greeks, and Tortosa in the middle ages, under which name it is celebrated by Tasso. The ruins of its magnificent Gothic cathedral are still to be seen. Its modern name is Tartûs.

² *Can.*, Arthæ; *Mabil.*, Argathæ. The high road from Antaradus to Emesa does not pass through any place called Arca. Arca Cæsarea is on the sea-coast, not far from Tripolis. A village now called 'Akkar, on Jebel Akkar, which gives the name to the province, has a ruined Saracenic castle, but it is quite off the road. Sir Richard Burton gives a sketch of a fine castle of the crusaders' times, which may have replaced a fortress of the Saracens. This is on the high road, about fifteen miles from Antaradus, and it was called by the crusaders Husn el-Akrad, or 'The Kurds' Castle.' The situation corresponds with the Arche or Arca visited by St. Willibald. See, for sketch, *Unexplored Syria*, vol. i., p. 141.

³ The frequent repetition of the *Kyrie eleison*, which is said forty times in the Greek Liturgy, would be likely to strike the English pilgrim, and he would naturally call the whole function the Litany.

⁴ Now known by the name of Hums, a town of some 20,000 inhabitants, with extensive ruins dating from the first century. It was captured by the Saracens in 636.

⁵ This church is not mentioned by Eusebius among those built by the Empress Helena; but he says of Constantine that, at the same time that the empress built the churches at Jerusalem and Bethlehem 'in all the other provinces he built new churches,' *Vita Const.*, iii. 47.

countrymen, and he made the eighth. All at once those Saracens, hearing that strangers and unknown men had arrived thither, took them and held them in captivity ; for they knew not of what nation they were, but thought them to be spies. And they led them as prisoners to a certain wealthy old man that he might see and know whence they were. And that old man questioned them as to whence they came, and on what errand they were employed. Then they replied, and related to him from the beginning the whole motive of their journey. And that old man answered and said : ‘ I have often seen men coming from those parts of the earth, countrymen of these ; they have no evil designs, but wish to fulfil their law.’ Then they went from him, and came to the palace in order to ask their way to pass on to Jerusalem. But, when they arrived, that governor said at once that they were spies, and commanded them to be cast into prison until they could learn from the king how their case stood—what he would have done in their case. While they were in prison they had immediate experience of the wonderful dispensation of God Almighty, who kindly deigns to protect His own everywhere, in the midst of spears and instruments of war, among barbarians and warriors, in prisons and bands of rebels, to shield them and keep them safe. For a man was there, a merchant, who wished to redeem them, and deliver them out of prison by way of alms and for the redemption of his own soul, so that they might go free according to their own will. And when he could not effect this, he sent them instead dinner and supper every day. And on Wednesday and Saturday he sent his own son to the prison, and he conducted them to the bath, and brought them back again. And on Sunday he took them to church through the market, that they might see the things that were for sale ; and, whatever they were pleased with, he then at his own

expense purchased for them anything that they had a mind to. The citizens of the neighbouring towns, filled with curiosity, used to come in crowds thither to gaze upon them, for they were young and handsome, and well equipped with goodly apparel.¹

After this, while they were still in prison, a man came from Spain, and conversed with them in the prison, and diligently inquired of them as to who they were, and whence they came. And they told him everything about their journey in order. This Spanish man had a brother in the king's palace, who was the chamberlain of the king of the Saracens. And when that governor who had put them in prison came to the palace, the Spaniard who had talked with them in prison, and the captain of the vessel in whose ship they were when they came from Cyprus, both together presented themselves before the king of the Saracens, whose name was Mirmumni.² When some words had passed about their case, that Spanish man informed his brother of all that they had told him in the prison, and begged him to make it known to the king, and plead their cause. And so, when all these three came before the king, and relating everything in order, made known to him their case, the king asked whence they came. And they said: 'From the western shores, where the sun sets, the men have come, and we know not any land beyond them, and there is nothing but water.' And the king answered and said to them: 'Why should we punish them? They have committed no offence against us. Give them liberty, and let them depart.' Other men who were detained in prison had to pay a three months' assessment, but this was remitted in their case. Those

¹ *Juvenes, et decori, et vestium ornatu bene erant induti.* They do not seem to have travelled in the monastic habit.

² Emir al-Mumanim, Commander of the Faithful.

Cyprians dwell between the Greeks and the Saracens, and were disarmed, because a firm peace and agreement was then existing between the Saracens and the Greeks. That territory was large and broad, and the dioceses of twelve bishops are there.

XIII.—*Damascus, Chana, Mount Tabor.*

With this permission, they at once set out, and travelled a hundred miles to Damascus, where St. Ananias rests. It is in the land of Syria. They stayed there a week. Two miles from thence there is a church, and at that place Paul was first converted, and the Lord said to him, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?' etc. And there they prayed, and walked on to Galilee, to that place where Gabriel first came to holy Mary and said, 'Hail, Mary!' etc.¹ There is now a church, and that village in which the church is is Nazareth. Christian men have often combined to purchase back that church from the pagan Saracens when they wished to destroy it. There they commended themselves to the Lord, and walked on from thence, and came to the town of Chana, where our Lord changed the water into wine. There is a large church, and in that church stands at the altar one of the six water-pots which our Lord commanded to be filled with water, and it was turned into wine, and they partook of that wine. They were there one day, and, proceeding from thence, they came to Mount Tabor, where our Lord was transfigured. There is now a monastery of monks, and a church dedicated to our Lord and to Moses and Elias. And the inhabitants there call the place 'Age mons.'² There they prayed.

¹ *Can.*, 'Hail, full of grace,' etc.

² A curious mixture of Greek and Latin, "*Ἁγίος-mons*. Antoninus says there were three churches.

XIV.—*Tiberias, Magdalum, Capharnaum, Bethsaida, Chorozain.*

From thence they went on to a city which is called Tiberiadis. That city stands on the shore of the sea [of Galilee], where our Lord walked [upon the waters] with dry feet, and Peter walking on the wave to Him was sinking. There are many churches, and a synagogue of the Jews; but yet our Lord is held in great honour.¹ They were there some days, and the Jordan there flows through the midst of the sea. From thence they went round the sea-coast, and came near to the village of Magdalene. And they came to that village, Capharnaum, where our Lord raised to life the ruler's daughter; and there is a house and a thick wall. And the men there said that Zebedee, with his sons John and James, had been lodged therein. And thence they proceeded to Bethsaida, whence came Peter and Andrew. There is now a church where their house was formerly. They stayed there one night, and, in the morning, went on to Corozain,² where our Lord cured the demoniacs, and sent the devil into the herd of swine. There was a church of the Christians.

XV.—*Jor and Dan, the Jordan, the Pools of Merom, Cesarea Philippi.*

There they prayed, and then went on, and came to that place where two fountains spring out of the earth—the Jor and the Dan—and then, as they run down from the moun-

¹ *Magnus honor dominicus.* Can., 'Magno honore dominica,' which might mean 'The Church (κυριακή) is very splendid,' or 'The Sunday is observed with great honour.'

² The Itinerary says *hinc sanctorum amore locorum, itinere tortuoso*, etc., which accounts for the doubling back upon their route, unless we adopt the hypothesis of another Bethsaida at the place called *et-Tabighah*.

tain above, they become mingled together and make the Jordan.¹ There they remained a night between the two springs, and the shepherds gave us² sour milk to drink. There are wonderful cattle, created with a long back and short legs and great horns, and all of the same colour. In summer the pools are deep there.³ And when in summer-time the great scorching of the sun from heaven begins to burn up the earth, those cattle take themselves off, and go to the pool, and sink down with their whole body except only the head. Proceeding from thence, they went on and came to Cæsarea [Philippi], where is a church and a multitude of Christians.

XVI.—*Monastery and Church of St. John the Baptist by the Jordan, Baptism in this River, the Feast of the Epiphany.*

After resting there some time, they again pursued their

¹ Such is the common mediæval derivation. More ancient writers, as SS. Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, give the Hebrew derivation: 'Descensio eorum.' No river makes such a rapid descent as the Jordan, of about 2,000 feet from its source to its influx into the Dead Sea.

² The amanuensis here seems giving the *ipsissima verba* of the pilgrim, as she introduces the personal pronoun 'us,' *nobis*.

³ The Latin is somewhat obscure: *Ostree paludes sunt ibi profunde. Et quando estuali tempore magna solis caumatio de celo terram urere solet*, etc. Canisius proposes to read *Æstate* for *Ostree*. If *Ostree* be used for *Ostrinæ*, the passage would run, 'The purple pools there are deep.' This is true of the pools at Tell el-Kady. It is interesting to compare this description with that of Lieut. Anderson in 1866: 'The people farm on a small scale, and possess herds of black buffalo cattle. These animals, with their large backward-turned horns and very short hair, are usually seen contentedly standing in the swamps of the Huleh, with their heads only out of the water, to escape the torments of the flies and mosquitoes. . . . Half an hour's journey down the valley brings us to the junction of the Baniyas and Tell el-Kady streams' (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 445). The water in summer is plentiful and cool on account of the melting of the snow on Mount Hermon.

journey to the Monastery of St. John the Baptist, where there are about twenty monks. One night they remained there, and then went on above a mile to the Jordan, where our Lord was baptized.¹ A church stands there now, raised up high on stone columns, and underneath the church is now dry ground, where our Lord was baptized in this very spot. And where they now baptize there stands a cross of wood in the middle, and there is a little channel of water there, and a rope extending over the Jordan, and secured on either side. Then, on the Feast of the Epiphany, the sick and infirm come and hold on by the rope, and so are dipped in the water. Moreover, women who are barren come there, and, according to their deserts, receive the grace of the Lord. Our Bishop Willibald bathed there in the Jordan. They were there one day.

XVII.—*Galgala, Jericho, Monastery of St. Euthymius.*

They proceeded from thence, and came to Galgala. The two places are about five miles apart, and there are twelve stones there in the church, which is of wood, and not large. These are the twelve stones, which the children of Israel took out of the Jordan, and carried to Galgala, over five

¹ The monastery is described by Antoninus, chap. xii. It is evidently Kusr el-Yehûd. The difficulty is to account for St. Willibald having passed at once from Banias to this place, sixty miles south, with no mention of places on the way. Perhaps a probable explanation may be hazarded, thus: At the end of chap. xv. the narrative was interrupted by the bell for vespers, or dinner. The next time that the bishop met the nuns, he would ask 'Where did we leave off?' They would reply, 'We had got to the Jordan.' Willibald would say, 'There it was that our Lord was baptized,' and proceed with a description of the place where all are agreed that it must have been. Canisius says that the words 'There is now a church . . . where our Lord was baptized' were in the margin of the MS., added by another hand.

miles, and set up for a testimony of their crossing over.¹ There then they prayed, and went on over seven miles from the Jordan. There spouted out a spring at the foot of the mountain. This spring was unprofitable and useless for men, until Heliseus the prophet came and blessed it. Afterwards it flowed forth, and all [the people of] that city divided its waters through their fields, their gardens, and everywhere where it was wanted; and all that that water irrigates increases and prospers to salvation, by reason of the blessing of the prophet Heliseus.² From thence they went on to the Monastery of St. Eustochius, which stands in the midst of a plain between Jericho and Jerusalem.³

XVIII.—*Jerusalem, the Church and Crosses in the Place of Calvary, the Garden with the Sepulchre of our Saviour, and the Wonderful House.*

From thence they came to Jerusalem, to that place where the holy cross of our Lord was found. There is now a church in that spot which was called the place of Calvary. And this was formerly outside Jerusalem; but Helena, when she found the cross, arranged that place so as to be within the city Jerusalem. And there now stand three crosses of wood outside on the eastern wing of the church, by the wall, in memory of the holy cross of our Lord, and of the others who were crucified with Him. These are not now inside the church, but stand without, outside the church under [the eaves of] the roof. And along there is that garden, in which was the sepulchre of

¹ Josue iv. 2-9, 20, 21. Galgala has been identified by Herr Zschokke with a ruin still bearing the name of *Jiljûlieh*, of which a sketch is given in *Twenty one Years' Work*, p. 107.

² 4 Kings ii. 19-22.

³ This monastery is called in the title St. Euthymius; in the *Itinerary of St. Willibald* it is called St. Eustace.

our Saviour. That sepulchre was cut out in the rock, and that rock stands above ground, and is square at the bottom and tapers up towards the top. And there stands now on the summit of that sepulchre a cross, and there has now been constructed over it a wonderful house, and on the eastern side of that rock of the sepulchre a door has been made, through which men enter into the sepulchre to pray. And there is a bed (*lectus*) inside, on which the body of our Lord was laid. And there stand in the bed fifteen golden bowls, with oil burning day and night. That bed in which the body of our Lord was laid is situated on the north side within the rock of the sepulchre, and is on the right side to a man when he goes into the sepulchre to pray. And there in front of the door of the sepulchre lies that great stone, squared after the likeness of the former stone which the angel rolled back from the door of the sepulchre.

XIX.—*Willibald sick, the Church of Holy Sion, Solomon's Porch, the Pool of Probatica.*

And our Bishop arrived there on the festival of St. Martin.¹ And as soon as he got there he began to sicken, and lay ill until a week before the Nativity of our Lord. And then, when he was somewhat recovered, and had got the better of his illness, he got up and went to that church which is called Holy Sion. It stands in the middle of Jerusalem. There he prayed, and from thence went into Solomon's Porch. There is the piscina, and there lay the infirm people, waiting for the moving of the water, when the angel came, and then he who first went down into it was healed; and there our Lord said to the paralytic, 'Arise, take up thy bed and walk' (Mark ix. 11).²

¹ November 11.

² Really, John v. 11.

XX.—*The Column in Memory of the Place where the Jews wished to carry off the Body of Holy Mary ; her Translation in Holy Sion.*

Likewise, he also said, that before the gate of the city there stood a high column, and on the top of the column stands a cross, for a sign and a memorial of the place where the Jews wished to carry away the body of holy Mary. When the eleven Apostles took up the body of holy Mary, they carried it from Jerusalem, and soon as they came to the gate of the city the Jews wished to seize it. Immediately those men put forth their arms towards the bier and tried to take it, their arms were held, and they stuck to the bier, and were unable to move, until by the grace of God and the prayers of the Apostles they were loosed again, and then they left them. Holy Mary departed out of the world in that place in the midst of Jerusalem, which is called holy Sion. And now the eleven Apostles carried her, as I said before, and then angels came and took her from the hands of the Apostles, and carried her into Paradise.¹

XXI.—*The Valley of Josaphat, the Church and Tomb of Holy Mary, the Church where our Lord prayed, the Church of the Ascension on Mount Olivet.*

And going down from thence, Bishop Willibald came to the valley of Josaphat. It is situated near the city of Jerusalem, on the eastern side. And in that valley is the church of holy Mary, and in the church is her sepulchre—not that her body rests there, but for a memorial of her.

¹ Most of the accounts of the Assumption state that the body of the Blessed Virgin was buried in the tomb mentioned in the next chapter ; and that, when that tomb was opened some days afterwards, it was found empty.

There he prayed, and went up to Mount Olivet, which is near the valley on the eastern side. That valley is between Jerusalem and the Mount Olivet. And on Mount Olivet there is now a church, where our Lord prayed before His Passion, and said to His disciples, 'Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation' (Matt. xxvi. 41). From thence he came to the church on the mount itself, where our Lord ascended into heaven. And in the middle of the church there stands [a *candelabrum*] made of brass, sculptured and beautiful, and it is square. It stands in the middle of the church, where our Lord ascended into heaven. And in the centre of the brass-work has been made a quadrangular vessel of glass, and there in the middle of the glass is a small glow-worm [of a lamp],¹ and round the lamp the glass is shut in on all sides. And it is so shut in that it may be always burning both in rain and sunshine. That church is open at the top, and has no roof, and there stand two columns within the church over against the northern and the southern wall. These are for a memorial and a sign of the two men who said, 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand you gazing up into heaven?' (Acts i. 11). And the man who can creep between the wall and the columns is free from his sins.²

XXII.—*The Place of the Shepherds, Bethlehem, the Cave and Church of the Nativity of our Lord.*

From Jerusalem they went to the place where the angel appeared to the shepherds, saying, 'I announce to you great joy,' etc. (Mark ii. 10).³ And thence they came to Bethlehem, where our Lord was born, seven miles from Jerusalem. The place where Christ was born was once a

¹ *Cicindulum*.

² *I.e.*, can gain a plenary indulgence.

³ Luke ii. 10.

cave underground, and now is a square chamber cut out in the rock, and the surrounding earth has been dug out and thrown away. And there above it a church has now been erected. And where our Lord was born, over that now stands the altar; and another smaller altar has been made, so that when they wish to celebrate Mass inside the cave, they take that smaller altar, and carry it inside during the time that Mass is being celebrated, and then carry it out again. That church where our Lord was born is a glorious house, built in the form of a cross.¹

XXIII.—*Thecua, the Laura and Monastery of St. Saba.*

Having prayed there, they went on, and came to a large town, which is called Thecua, to the place where the infants were once slain by Herod. There is now a church, and there rests one of the prophets.² And then they came into the Laura Valley. There is a large monastery, and there resides the abbot at the monastery, and that doorkeeper of the church and the other numerous monks, who are there in the same monastery, dwell around the valley, in the recesses of the mountain rock. And they have there little cells cut out in the stony rock of the mountain here and there. The same mountain circles round the valley, and there rests St. Saba.³

XXIV.—*The little Church where Philip baptized the Eunuch, Gaza, St. Matthias, St. Zacharias, Hebron.*

Then they went to the place where Philip baptized the Eunuch.⁴ And there is a little church in a wide valley

¹ See *Churches of Constantine*, pp. 11, 12.

² Amos i. 1, vii. 14, 15. It is still called Tekûa, but has scarcely any inhabitants since its destruction by the Turks in 1138.

³ St. Saba founded this monastery in 483, and was made by the patriarch of Jerusalem archimandrite over all the monks of Palestine.

⁴ The *Bordeaux Pilgrim* (p. 27) calls the place Bethasora, Beit

between Bethlehem and Gaza.¹ Thence they went to Gaza, where is a holy place ; and they prayed there, and went on to St. Matthias. There is great glory of the Lord.² But while the sacred solemnities of Masses were celebrated there, our Bishop Willibald, standing there at Mass, lost the sight of his eyes, and was blind for two months. And from thence they went to St. Zacharias the prophet, not the father of John [the Baptist], but another prophet. Then they went to the village Aframia.³ There rest the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives.

XXV.—*Jerusalem, Diospolis (at St. George), Church of St. Peter in Joppe, the Great Sea, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Mount Libanus, Damascus, Cæsarea Philippi.*

And then they came again into Jerusalem, and entering into the church, where the holy Cross of our Lord was found, Willibald's eyes were opened, and he received his sight. And after remaining there some time, he journeyed

Sûr, on the road from Bethlehem to Hebron. It is called in the *Itinerary of St. Willibald*, Bethsurus.

¹ It is difficult to understand why the pilgrims should have gone to Gaza and then returned to Hebron. The ruins of the church built by Constantine at Gaza are still to be seen. The *Bordeaux Pilgrim* mentions a basilica of wondrous beauty built by command of Constantine 'at Terebinthus,' probably Ramet el-Khulil, where are extensive ruins. Eusebius (*Vita Const.*, cc. li.-liii.) gives an account of this basilica at Mamre.

² *Ibi est magna gloria dominica.* Perhaps we ought to supply *domus*, and read 'There is a church adorned with great glory.' The body of St. Matthias is said to have been translated by St. Helena from Judæa to Trèves, where it is still honoured. See Bolland., *Acta SS.*, February 24. Canisius reads *in dominica*, which would mean 'on Sunday.'

³ *Castellum Aframia.* It is difficult to account for this name. Can it be that it is a mistake for *Castellum Abrahamæ* or *Abrami*? Porter says : 'This structure was long known as the "Castle of Abraham," a name also applied in the time of the crusades to the whole city' (*Handbook*, p. 68).

from thence, and came into the place Diospolis to St. George.¹ That is ten miles from Jerusalem. And from thence he came to another town. There is the church of St. Peter the Apostle, and there St. Peter raised to life the widow, who was named Dorcas. Having prayed there, he went on and came to the Adriatic (*sic*) Sea, a long way from Jerusalem, to the cities of Tyre and Sidon. These two cities are six miles apart, and they stand on the sea-shore. From thence he came to Tripoli on the sea-shore. And then he passed over Mount Libanus, and came to Damascus, and thence came [back] to Cæsarea.

XXVI.—*Jerusalem, Emesa, Salamaïs (where he was sick a long time), again Emesa, Damascus.*

From Cæsarea he came a third time to Jerusalem, and was there the whole winter. And he journeyed from thence above three hundred miles to the city of Emesa in Syria, and thence came to the city of Salamaitha.² This is at the extreme border of Syria, and he was there for the whole time of Lent, because he fell sick and could not travel. His companions, who were with him in attendance, went to the King of the Saracens, named Murmumni, and wished to ask of him a letter to permit them to travel; but they could not find the King, for he had fled away from that country to avoid the sickness and plague which scourged that region. And when they did not find the King they came back again; and there they all remained together in Salamaitha until it was one week before Easter.

Then they came again to Emesa, and begged the

¹ Lydda (Acts ix. 32-39), now called Ludd. The remains of the Church of St. George, who is said to have been born here, are still to be seen, restored as a Greek Church.

² Now 'Salámeyeh, mentioned in the Antonine Tables as Salamias, and placed at a distance of eighteen Roman miles from Hemisa.'—*Unexplored Syria*, vol. ii., p. 166. Canisius reads *Ptolomais*.

governor there to give them a letter. And he gave them a letter for two at a time, because they could not travel all together, but only two by two, for in this way it would be more easy for them to obtain food there. And then they came to Damascus.

XXVII.—*Jerusalem, Sebastia, Church over the Well where our Lord asked Water from the Woman of Samaria, Mount Garizim, a large Town.*

From Damascus they came a fourth time to Jerusalem. And there they remained some days, and came to the city of Sebastia, which was formerly called Samaria. But after it had been destroyed they built again a fortress where Samaria had formerly been, and called that fortress Sebastia.¹ There rest now St. John the Baptist, and Abdias, and Heliseus the prophet. And there is that well near the fortress,² where our Lord asked the woman of Samaria water to drink. And over that well is now a church, and that mountain is there on which the Samaritans used to adore. And that woman said to our Lord, 'Our fathers adored upon this mountain, and Thou sayest that in Jerusalem is the place where men must adore' (John iv. 20). Then they prayed there, and travelled over the region of the Samaritans, to their extreme borders, to a large town. There they were one night.

XXVIII.—*The Plain of Esdraelon, Ptolemais, the White Promontory with the Tower of Libanus, Tyre, deception with Petroleum.*

From thence they travelled on across a wide plain full of olive-trees, and there went with them an Ethiopian with two camels and a mule, who conducted a woman through

¹ Sebastia was built by Herod the Great and called after Augustus.

² It is two hours and a half journey from Sebastieh to Jacob's Well.

the wood. And as they journeyed there met them a lion, which, with open mouth, roaring and growling, sought to seize and devour them, and terrified them greatly. Then that Ethiopian said to them, 'Fear you not, but go on.' They went on immediately, and drew near to it. But the lion, by the disposition of the Almighty God enthroned on high, quickly turned another way, and left the path clear for them to pass. And so they said that as soon as they had proceeded thence, after a little while they heard that lion give a great roar, as though he were devouring many of the men who went to gather the fruit of the olives. Going on from thence they came to the city which is called Talamais, on the sea-shore.¹ Walking on from thence they came to the head of Libanus, where that mountain goes down into the sea, and is a promontory. There is the tower of Libanus.² And he who comes thither without a passport cannot pass the place, because that place is in the hands of a guard, and there is an enclosure; and if anyone comes without a passport, the citizens take him and send him back to the city of Tyre. That mountain is between Tyre and Talamais. And then the Bishop came again to Tyre.

Before this, Bishop Willibald, when he was in Jerusalem, bought himself some balsam, and filled a calabash (*muner-bam*³) with it. He took a cane, which was hollow, and had a bottom. He filled that with petroleum (*petræ oleo*), and put it inside the calabash, and cut that cane even with the calabash, so that the edges of both seemed alike even, and thus he closed the mouth of the calabash. And when they came to the city of Tyre, those inhabitants of the city took them, bound them, and examined all their baggage, in order

¹ Ptolemais, now Acre.

² Ras el-Abyad. The tower is now in ruins.

³ So Mabillon translates it.

to find out if they had anything contraband hidden, and if they had found anything they would at once have punished and made martyrs of them.¹ But when they examined everything they found nothing except a calabash which Willibald had, and they opened and smelled what was inside. And when they smelled the petroleum, because it was in the cane above, the balsam, which was inside the calabash under the petroleum, they found not, and so they let them go.

XXIX.—*Constantinople, Nicæa.*

They were for many days waiting for a ship while it was being made ready. Afterwards they were sailing the whole winter, from the Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle until one week before Easter. Then they arrived at the city of Constantinople, where rest three saints (Andrew, and Timothy, and Luke the Evangelist) at one altar. And John, he of the Golden Mouth, rests there before the altar, where he stood as a priest and offered Mass; there is his tomb.² Our Bishop was there two years, and had a cell inside the church, so that every day he could gaze upon the place where the saints rested. From thence he went to the city of Nicæa, where formerly the Emperor Constantine held the Council; and there were there at the Council three hundred and eighteen bishops; all these held the Synod. The church there is similar to that church on Mount Olivet, where our Lord ascended into heaven. And in that church are the pictures of the bishops who were at the Council. And Willibald went thither from Constanti-

¹ *Punientes martyrizarent.* Smuggling would hardly have procured Willibald the honours of martyrdom, unless he had been offered his life on condition of his renouncing Christ.

² The relics of these saints seem to have been translated to Rome during the Latin occupation of Constantinople. See Bolland., *Acta SS.*, *Septembr.*, tom. iv., p. 694.

nople, that he might see how that church had been constructed, and he returned by water to Constantinople.

XXX.—*Syracuse, Catana, Rhegium, Infernus Theoderici in Insula Vulcani.*

And after two years they sailed from Constantinople with the Nuncios of the Pope¹ and the Emperor to the island of Sicily, to the city of Syracuse. Thence they came to Catana, and from that place to Regia, a city in Calabria. From thence they sailed to the island of Vulcano. There is the Hell of Theoderic. When they came thither, they went up out of the ship to see what sort of hell it was.² Willibald, in his curiosity, at once wished to

¹ Leo, the Isaurian, threatened Pope Gregory II., and was excommunicated in 728, and this occasioned the return of the legates to Rome.

² St. Gregory the Great tells us that, when he was still a monk, he was often visited by a cleric named Julian. 'This man told me,' he says, 'this story : In the time of King Theoderic (quoth he) my wife's father being in Sicily, was to return into Italy. The ship in which he came arrived at the island of Lipari, where he understood that there dwelt a certain solitary man of great virtue, and while the mariners were occupied about mending of their ship and tackling, he thought good to visit and talk with him, and to commend himself to his prayers ; and so he did in the company of others. When they were come to the man of God, amongst other talk which they had, he asked them this question : Do you (quoth he) hear that King Theoderic [II.] is dead ? to whom they quickly answered : "God forbid ! we left him alive at our departure from Rome ; and before this present we never heard of any such thing." Then the servant of God told them that certainly he was dead : "For yesterday (quoth he) at nine o'clock, he was without shoes and girdle, and his hands fast bound, brought betwixt John the Pope and Symmachus the senator, and thrown into Vulcan's gulf, which is not far from this place." When they heard this news, carefully they wrote down the time ; and at their return into Italy, they understood that King Theoderic died upon that very day, in which his unhappy passage out of this world, and punishment, was revealed to the servant of God. And forasmuch as he had, by miserable imprisonment, been the death of Pope John [V.], and

see what sort of place that hell was inside, and he wanted to go up to the top of the mountain, under which the hell is, but he could not, because the ashes from the foul Tartarus lie there in heaps reaching up to the very edge [of the crater]; and, like snow, when it snows from heaven, and is wont to heap up the falling masses of flakes which fall from the airy heights of the sky, so the ashes lay heaped up at the top of the mountain and prevented Willibald's going up. But yet they saw the foul and terrible and horrible flame break forth and belching out from the pit with a roll like thunder. Thus they gazed in awe at the great flame and vapour of smoke ascending up to a very great height. That pumice-stone of which writers speak he saw it going up out of the hell, and with the fire thrown out and swallowed up in the sea, and then again thrown up by the sea upon the shore, where men take it up and carry it away.

XXXI.—*The Island of Lipara with the Church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle ; then the Mountains of Didymus, Naples, Capua, Teano, Cassino.*

As soon as they had examined with the sight of their eyes these horrible and terrible fires and their marvellous blazing, with flame-vomiting vapours and foetid smoke, they weighed anchor, and sailed to the church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle [at Lipari], which stands on the sea-shore, and they came to those mountains which are called Didymi. There they prayed, and remained one night. And sailing thence they came to the city which is called Naples. They were there several days. There is the

also killed Symmachus, justly did he appear to be thrown of them into fire, whom before in this life he had unjustly condemned.'—*Dialogues*, Bk. IV., chap. xxx., E. Tr. by P. W., 1608.

throne of the archbishop, and his dignity there is great. And there is a town near,¹ where rests St. Severinus. From thence they came to Capua. The archbishop sent him to another city to a bishop there, and this bishop sent him to the city Tiana² to the bishop there, and that bishop sent him to St. Benedict [at Monte Cassino]. It was then autumn when he arrived at St. Benedict's.

XXXII.—*Monastery of St. Benedict, the River Rapidus, Community Life.*

It was then seven years since Willibald began to travel from Rome, and it was ten years in all since he came over from his own country. And when the venerable man Willibald and Tidbert,³ who had travelled with him through all these places, came to St. Benedict, they found there only a few monks, and an abbot named Petronax. At once, with great self-control and natural aptitude for rules, [he joined] the happy community of the brethren; and, admonished by their diligent instructions, he taught them [in turn] by his intercourse, not only by words, but by the beauty of his behaviour, and set before them rightly the spirit of their institute, by exhibiting in himself the pattern of monastic life, in such a manner as to call out and draw to himself the love and respect of all.

In the first year that he came there he was sacristan (*cubicularius*) of the church; the next year he was dean in the monastery, and then for eight years he was porter in two monasteries—four years in that monastery which stands on the top of a high mountain, and the other four years in the other monastery, which stands below by the river Rapido.

Thus passed an interval of ten years, and that venerable

¹ Lucullano, *Mabil.*

² Teano.

³ *Can.*, Diapertus

man Willibald endeavoured in every particular that he could to observe St. Benedict's sacred rule of regular life. And not only himself, but others he led with him by going before them in the venerated paths of religious life.

XXXIII.—*Rome : the Pilgrimage is briefly narrated before the Pope.*

After these events a priest came from Spain to St. Benedict's, who stayed there, and then asked permission of the Abbot Petronax to go on to Rome. And as soon as he had obtained leave, he begged Willibald to go with him and conduct him to St. Peter's. . . . And when they came to Rome, they entered into the basilica of St. Peter, and craved the patronage of the heavenly keeper of the keys, and commended themselves to the pious protection of his prayers. When that holy pontiff of the Apostolic See, Gregory III., learned that the venerable man Willibald was there, he commanded him to come to him. And when he came . . . he at once prostrated himself with his face to the earth and saluted him. And forthwith that kind overseer of the people began to inquire into the order of his journey. . . . At once the active servant of Christ made known to the glorious ruler of the nations the course of his journey in order.

XXXIV.—*The Pope exhorts him to set out to [join] St. Boniface.*

After he and the Pope had turned all these subjects over in pleasant and familiar conversation, that holy and supreme Apostolic pontiff testified in serious and distinct words that St. Boniface had asked him to have Willibald sent for and brought to him, and so to be next to himself in instructing the nation of the Franks. Then Willibald promised obedience . . . if he got leave from his abbot.

The supreme pontiff at once said . . . ‘That if I were pleased to send the Abbot Petronax himself anywhere, he would certainly have no liberty or power to object.’ Then Willibald readily answered . . . that he was ready and willing to go not only there, but whithersoever else in the whole world . . . he might deign to send him.

XXXV.—*Journey to Lucca, Ticino, Brescia, Carta ; to Odilo, to Suitgar, to Linthard, to St. Boniface, Eihstadt, where is St. Mary’s Church.*

After this Willibald set out thence at Easter, having come to Rome on the Feast of St. Andrew, and Tidbert remained there at St. Benedict’s. Willibald went to Lucca, where his father rested. And thence he came to Ticino, and then to Brescia. And thence to a place which is called Carta.¹ He then came to the Duke Odilo, and was with him a week. Thence he went to Suitgar, and was there with him a week. And then Willibald and Suitgar travelled to Linthard to St. Boniface. St. Boniface sent them to Eihstadt, that he might see how it pleased him. Suitgar handed over that territory to St. Boniface, and St. Boniface entrusted to our Bishop Willibald that region, which was then all waste, insomuch that there was no house there, except that church of St. Mary, which still stands, smaller than that other church which Willibald afterwards erected there.

XXXVI.—*Frisinga, Eihstadt, Willibald made Priest.*

When Willibald and Suitgar had both remained together at Eihstadt for some space of time, and, after exploring, had selected there a place suitable for a dwelling, they then went again to St. Boniface to Frisinga, and were

¹ Probably Garda, on the Lago di Garda.

there with him until they all went together back to Eihstadt. And there St. Boniface consecrated Willibald to the rank of the priestly dignity . . . on the eleventh day before the Kalends of August [July 22nd], the Feast of St. Apollinaris¹ and of St. Mary Magdalene.

XXXVII.—*Thuringia. At Salzburg he is endued with the fulness of the Priestly Dignity. Some Matters belonging to the Prologue are inserted.*

And after the circle of a year had passed, St. Boniface ordered him to repair to him in Thuringia, . . . and he had his dwelling as a guest in the house of his brother St. Wunebald; for he had not seen him before during the past eight years, nor even for the nine and a half years since he started from Rome. And now they were rejoiced to see each other, and congratulated one another on the meeting. It was then the autumnal season of the year, and . . . soon after he came, St. Boniface, the Archbishop, and Burchard and Wizo, consecrated him in due form to the sacred authority of the episcopate. He was there one week . . . and then returned to his appointed place. Willibald was forty-one years old when he was consecrated Bishop . . . the time was three weeks before the Feast of St. Martin, and the place is called Salzburg.

The long course of the travels of Willibald was now past and ended which that wise man had spent seven years in traversing. Those events, now being ascertained and strictly investigated, we have endeavoured to set forth and make known. And they were ascertained, not from anyone else, but heard from himself, and dictated from his own mouth, and we wrote them out in the monastery of Heidenheim, his deacons and some other younger [clerics] of his

¹ St. Apollinaris, Bishop of Ravenna, is honoured on July 23. The Feast of St. Mary Magdalene is on the 22nd.

being witnesses for me. And I say this, that no one may hereafter say that it is an idle tale.¹

XXXVIII.—*A Monastery is built at Eihstadt: Community Life after the Rule of St. Benedict is established.*

After he came from Rome with three fellow-countrymen . . . and in the place which is called Eihstadt he began to build a monastery, and soon began to practise the discipline of monastic life . . . and with a few fellow-workmen he cultivated a wide and spacious field of the Divine crop; sowing the sacred seed of the heavenly word he brought it on even to the harvest. . . .

XXXIX.—*Crowds flow from all sides to the Apostle of the Bavarians.*

Soon after that strenuous athlete of our good God began to inhabit the monastic place of his dwelling, immediately they commenced to flock together from all sides from those provinces, and even from other far-off regions to the saving doctrine of his wisdom, and he brought them to our Lord as his adopted sons . . . and as a hen is wont to cherish her offspring, hiding them under her wings, so that Father Willibald and Mother Church, protecting many continually with the shield of his own affection, brought them up as adopted children for our Lord. . . .

XL.—*A whole People with Chieftains without number are gained; praise to God and to Willibald.*

And that Willibald, who at first began the exercises of a holy life with but a few followers to help him, at last carried on the warfare with an innumerable band of chieftains and courtiers, and gained possession of a people

¹ *Frivolum*. The mixture of the singular and plural is very frequent in this work.

worthy of our Lord. Far and wide through the province of the Bavarians he drove his plough, he sowed his seed, he reaped his harvest with many labourers of the harvest ; and all through the fields of Bavaria, shining with churches, presbyteries, and relics of the saints, he gathered offerings worthy of our Lord. From these [once wild forests] now the antiphons sound, sacred lections are heard, a noble crowd of believers shout aloud the holy miracles of Christ, and with grateful hearts prattle of the glories of their Creator.

What shall I now say of Willibald, my master and your foster-father ?¹ Who was ever more advanced in piety, who more perfect in humility, who more pure in patience, more strict in continence, more great in meekness ? When was he ever backward in consoling the sad ? When ever wanting in assisting the poor or in clothing the naked ? These things are said, not for glorification, but, as I have seen and heard them done, by the grace of God not by man's works, in order that, according to the Apostle, 'he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord' (1 Cor. i. 31).

¹ *Alumnus.*

THE ITINERARY OF ST. WILLIBALD.

BY AN ANONYMOUS WRITER OF THE
EIGHTH CENTURY.

Although superior in style, the *Itinerarium S. Willibaldi* is far inferior in value to the *Hodæporicon*. The Heidenheim nun is very anxious to relate exactly what she heard from Willibald's own lips, whereas the anonymous writer mixes up with the narrative many things which he has collected by his own reading from ecclesiastical history. Nevertheless, it has been thought worth while to give a translation of it, since it adds some particulars not mentioned in the *Hodæporicon*, but which were probably dropped in conversation by St. Willibald; and even where it adds nothing it confirms the accuracy of that narrative, since it is obviously the testimony of an independent witness.

Only one MS. of this work has come to light as yet, viz., that edited by Canisius from the Monastery of Ochsenhausen. This was a very ancient Benedictine abbey in Oberschwaben, a province of Wurtemberg, which was destroyed by the Huns in 955, and rebuilt by Count Hatto, when it received its name from the treasure secreted by its former inmates being brought to light through a plough drawn by oxen. It was suppressed in the last century.

ITINERARY OF ST. WILLIBALD.

ANONYMOUS.

I. The prelate Willibald, sprung from the nation of the English, shone conspicuous as an image of angelic chastity. When the child of excellent disposition had completed his third year with the brightest hopes of his parents, he suddenly began to pine away with a complication of diseases, and the fair beauty of his face lost its bloom [and became] frightfully emaciated. Pierced with sorrow, his parents, whose only child he then was, carried him, scarce able to draw his breath, to the church, laid him before the holy cross, which stood there for adoration, and vowed that if he should be restored to health he should be set apart to the service of God. At once their vows obtained their effect, and the child came back to health and to his former beauty. And after that he was fully restored to strength, he began even before his time to be great in virtues.

II. By this sign his parents perceived that God was about to work something great in a child of so remarkable a disposition, and they were not wanting on their part, but dedicated their child, when scarcely five years old, to the monastic rule at a monastery called Waltheim, under the venerable abbot, Egilward. He then applied himself to learning, and did not allow himself a moment's idleness, but in a short time the most industrious [future] prelate made his breast an armoury of sacred literature ; and that he

might manifest Christ in all things, whatever he learned of the law of God or of the Church in his reading, that he faithfully fulfilled by following it in his manners and habit of life. And thus, already eminent by his virtues in a most remarkable degree, he so strove to become perfect in Christ that he thought of nothing else but to be with Christ.

III. Hence, having already denied himself and trampled the world under foot both in mind and in [outward] habit, yet he began to fear that he was wanting in perfection, because on his native soil his father's dignity reflected, however against his will, somewhat of fame and honour upon himself. He, therefore, resolved to go forth from his native country, and, unknown and in poverty, to be a pilgrim for Christ. And that he might not be the only one of his relations to enlist in Christ's army, he approached his father Richard, illustrious for his birth and property, and began to persuade him to despise the world and go on pilgrimage. And he objected to his son that it seemed to him most cruel and contrary to all humanity to leave his children orphans and his wife a widow and all his house desolate. But St. Willibald instilled into him [the idea] that nothing was to be preferred to the love of God, and that this cruelty for Christ was more humane than all [natural] affection, and that only those who despised the world would be co-heirs with Christ. Overcome at last by the conversation of his truth-telling son, he promised that he would obey and follow whithersoever his dear pledge should lead him. The same happy ardour of St. Willibald had also inflamed his brother Wunebald, the future founder and Abbot of the Monastery of Heidenheim, and also their sister, a model of virgins, Walpurga,¹ and many others, not

¹ The *Hodæporicon* does not allude to Walburga having left England. She was probably left at Wimborne, whence St. Boniface afterwards invited her to Germany.

only of their kindred, but their countrymen, who took the banner of the cross, that they might fly away bereft of all and follow the King of glory.

IV. As the year advanced from spring to summer, as soon as the winds permitted and the first promise [of calm] smiled on the sea, the holy brothers, Willibald and Wunibald, with their father Richard and sister Walpurga, and not a few others, in whose breasts the same ardour burned, went on board ship, entered upon the longed-for journey, and, happily favoured by winds, they landed on the bank of the river Seine, near the city which is called Rouen. Thence, going towards Rome, they came to Lucca, a city of Tuscany; and there their father, delivered from the flesh, and having obtained the rewards which he merited by following his son, they buried in the cemetery of St. Prescian. From thence they reached the long-desired Rome, and craved indulgence with tears of devotion from the princes of the Apostles. There they visited the shrines of the saints situated in those parts; and, making sacrifices of themselves every day to God on the altar of their hearts, they stayed on from the Feast of St. Martin until Easter, burned up by a severe [fever] sickness. However, during this time the holy brothers were, by God's providence, appointed to be a consolation to one another, so that, while one lay in bed with an access of the disease one week, the other, profiting by a temporary abatement, ministered to the one that lay in bed. And thus alternating in their occupation, one better and the other worse, the two holy brothers took care of each other.

V. When, through the mercy of God, St. Willibald was now thoroughly recovered and grew strong in health, out of love of the heavenly Jerusalem he began to sigh after the earthly one, and to see the places ennobled by the footsteps of Christ. He, therefore, left his brother Wune-

Rouen,
Lucca.

Rome.

bald and his sister Walpurga in Rome, and accompanied by two companions, himself making the third, he entered on his victorious journey.

They came to Beneventum, where St. Bartholomew Beneventum. rests, and found a ship driven in from Egypt. They went on board, and with sails swelling with full bellies, they touched at the port of Calabria, called Regia. Thence, Reggio. crossing over to Sicily, they entered the city of the Catanians, renowned for the body of St. Agatha the Virgin Catana. and her patronage, when the Mount Etna boils up from its Mt. Etna. lowest depths and, belching forth balls of flames, is wont to hide the heavens heated with its burning cinders. Oftentimes, when its liquid fire is burning the neighbouring country, the people of Catana place before it the veil of the tomb of the holy virgin, and they are not afraid of being injured. From thence, after visiting the tomb of St. Lucy at Syracuse, a city of the same island, they again trusted Syracuse. themselves to the sea, and passing the islands of Choos and Samos, they disembarked, their limbs exhausted with the sea voyage, at Ephesus, an island [*sic*] of Asia. Ephesus.

There at the tomb of St. John the Evangelist they poured forth their prayers with tears, marvelling at the manna that bubbles forth from it; and then they commended themselves to the Seven Sleepers and to St. Mary Magdalene, who rests there;¹ and afterwards, at the top of the neighbouring mountain, at the place where the holy Evangelist was accustomed to pray, they could not sufficiently wonder at its being free and safe from all rain and storm. From thence they came on foot a distance of two miles to the city Sigila. There they begged some bread and refreshed Phygala. themselves, dipping it in the fountain which bubbles forth with its waters clear to the bottom in the middle of the

¹ So it is stated in the Greek Menology. But no tradition earlier than the seventh century can be traced. See Bolland., *Acta SS.*, Jul. 22.

town. Passing the high mountain of the city of Strobolis, they arrived at Patara, and there, as the icy winter made the waves rough, they waited for the mildness of spring.

VI. At length they embarked and sailed across to the mountain of the Galani, and that place being devastated by the storm of war at that time, they suffered severely from want. From thence they steered their course to the Island of Cyprus, lying between the Greeks and the Saracens; and they spent Easter, which was then at hand, at the city of Paphos; and the equinox having passed, they stayed there three weeks. Then they came to the city of Constantia in the same island, which is famous for the body and miracles of the holy prelate Epiphanius,¹ and there they kept the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. From thence they passed through the Saracen city called Tharratas and came to the castle of Arahe, and came to Edissa in Phenicia, distinguished by the relics of St. Thomas the Apostle, and the Epistle which our Saviour wrote to King Abagarus.² There is now to be seen a church of wondrous workmanship, which Queen Helena built in honour of St. John the Baptist, whose head was long concealed in that city, but has since been translated thence to Jerusalem.

VII. Now St. Willibald himself made the eighth in addition to seven of his fellow-countrymen who accompanied him. The Saracens, perceiving their strange language and unknown dress, said that they had come for treasonable purposes, and taking them before the governor kept them in prison. But since to God no doors are closed [He provided for them, and] there was a mer-

¹ Mentioned by Sozomen, H. E., vi. 27. Salamis began to be called Constantia in the time of St. Epiphanius, who died May 12, 403.

² Of course this is a complete mistake, arising from the author confusing Emesa with Edessa, concerning which latter city he had read the account of King Agbarus in Eusebius, H. E., i., chap. xiii.

Patara.

Cyprus.

Antaradus.

Emesa.

chant who ministered to them anything that they stood in need of, and sometimes gave them a bath and took them to the church. While they were detained in prison, a certain Spaniard, who had a brother in the king's palace, examined into the case of the servants of God, saints of God, and by the aid of his brother and the sailor who had brought them across, made a defence before the king, called Mirnum, and obtained permission for them to depart.

VIII. Proceeding onwards, they came to Damascus, Damasus. renowned for the relics of Ananias, who baptized Paul, converted there by God himself. Then, after pouring out their prayers in that church, which now is conspicuous in the place of St. Paul's conversion, they came into Galilee to the town of Nazareth, from which Jesus also Nazareth. is called the Nazarene; and where the archangel Gabriel appeared to Holy Mary ever Virgin, and announced to her the incarnation of the Son of God in her womb; and where, becoming pregnant by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost in a way beyond all human thought, she conceived the Son of God. There stands a church of fitting sanctity, which has been many times redeemed at a price by the Christians from the Saracens who attempted to pull it down. Then, after visiting Chana of Galilee, distinguished Chana. by the first of our Lord's miracles, they passed over Mount Tabor, where a community of monks is now gathered together in honour of our Lord's transfiguration. Going on through the city of Tiberias, situated on the shore of Tiberias. the sea, where our Lord made Peter walk with dry feet upon the waters, and where the river Jordan flows through the sea of Galilee, they came to Magdala, the town of Magdala. Lazarus [*sic*] and his sisters. Thence, through Capharnaum Capharnaum. standing on the other shore opposite, where our Lord raised to life the daughter of the ruler, and where Zebedee, the father of James and John, rests; and through Beth- Bethsaida.

Corozaim.

saida, where a church now marks the house of Peter and Andrew, they arrived at Corozaim, where our Lord drove out the demons and permitted them to enter the herd of swine.

Paneas.

IX. Going hence, out of love of the sacred places, by a winding route, they came to the rise of the two sources [of Jordan] in the mountain of Paneas, of which one is called Jor and the other Dan, and one of them is on one side, and the other on the other side of the city, which in the Gospel is called Cæsarea Philippi, and by the Phenicians Paneas or Phaneas. These streams flow at a short distance from the city itself, and, running together in their gentle course, they are united in name, and form the Jordan, which is distinguished by our Lord's Baptism. In that same place they saw also certain herds of cattle, with long backs, short legs, and extended horns, which, when the sun makes the day hot, are accustomed to immerse themselves all but their heads in the neighbouring pool. They reached the above-mentioned Cæsarea, where Peter was made the keeper of the keys of heaven. There they went into the church and saw a statue of Christ, at the foot of which, when it stood in the open air, the grass used to spring up with a wonderful power of unction (*olei*) in it, concerning which the following account is read in ecclesiastical history.

It appears that the woman, whom [Christ] had healed of the issue of blood, was a citizen of this place. Before the doors of this woman's house is shown a kind of base placed in a very conspicuous situation, on which is seen, figured in bronze, an image of the woman herself, as it were falling on her knees and stretching out her hands in a suppliant attitude. Another statue is close by, also cast in bronze, with the face and dress of our Lord, and a fringed garment around him, and holding out his right hand to the prostrate woman. At the foot of the male statue there grows a certain herb of a new species, springing out of the above-

mentioned base, and it does not stop growing until it touches the border of the garment of Jesus. And when the growing herb touches that with its topmost shoot, it acquires from it the power of driving out all diseases, so that whatever the sickness may be, when a little water is drunk in which the health-giving herb has been steeped, it is driven out ; and yet if the herb should be cut off before it has grown so as to touch with its top the bronze border, it carries with it no virtue whatever. This statue Eusebius, a writer of his times, testifies remained until his days, and was seen by his own eyes.¹ But this statue of Christ, the most wicked apostate Julian, as we read in the Tripartite History,² took down and set up his own in its place. But God, avenging at once such wickedness, smote asunder with a stroke of lightning that statue of Julian ; and one part of the head with the neck lies fixed in the ground, while the other part remains in its place and attests the lightning flash. The pagans broke up the statue of our Saviour, but the Christians collected the pieces and placed them in the church.

X. Passing on from thence, and following the streams of the Jordan, they came to that place of the Jordan where our Lord cleansed the waters formerly polluted by the Flood, washing them by His own Baptism. There they were bathed in the salutary liquid, and went on to Galgalâ, Galgal. where the children of Israel set up, in testimony of their own passing over, the twelve stones that they had taken out of the Jordan. They then passed through Jericho, Jericho. where the Jordan is about to lose its name and its flowing and falls into the Dead Sea. They also visited the monastery of St. Eustace, situated half-way between Jericho and Jerusalem, and then they approached the long-expected Jerusalem. There, what spot was there Jerusalem. that had been the witness of our Lord's miracles or any

¹ H. E., vii. 18.² Sozomen, H. E., v. 21.

of His works on which Willibald the man of God did not imprint his kisses? What altar there that he did not bedew with his tears and sighs? With what devotion did not he, crucified to the world, lay prostrate before our Lord's Cross? How did he cover with a scalding flood of tears that stone which the angel rolled away from the door of the sepulchre?

Mt. Sion.

He was detained for six weeks there tormented with a most grievous illness, and yet it was not too grievous to prevent him from going round the holy places, his zeal making light of the labour. With what desire of seeing the God of gods in Sion did he visit the church of Mount Sion which stands in the midst of the city? How devoutly did he implore the aid of Stephen the protomartyr and archdeacon of that same church, now translated thence?

Valley of
Josaphat.

XI. At length they went out [of the city] and came into the valley of Josaphat, where the tomb of Holy Mary is shown. But whether the Apostles buried her there when released from her body left here below, or whether perhaps purposing to bury her after they had dug out the tomb there, she was assumed with her body [into heaven]; or if after being buried she was hidden there, whether she was taken thence and translated elsewhere, or having received true immortality she has risen again, it is better to be in doubt than to define anything apocryphal. Crossing over from thence, Mount Olivet received them, and they entered the church, which is open at the top, and was built by the care of Queen Helena on the place of our Lord's Ascension. This place then, in which our Lord at the very hour of His Ascension, surrounded by His disciples, had stood, and from which, lifting up His hands, He led our captivity captive, the marks of our Lord's Feet to this day most clearly demonstrate. And [the ground] feeling itself, as it were from the impression of those Feet, incomparably more

Mt. Olivet.

precious than every artificial adornment, does not suffer itself to be strewed with a pavement, nor to be covered by a roof. These marks of our Lord's Feet St. Willibald and his companions never ceased to wash with flowing tears, and were able to say : ' We have adored in the place where His Feet have stood.' In that same church there are said to stand two pillars in memory of the two angels, who said to the disciples gazing on our ascending Lord, ' Ye men of Galilee, why stand you gazing up into heaven?' They also report that whoever can creep round the wall of the church between the pillars and the church wall, he merits the pardon of his sins.

XII. Then he came to Bethlehem, where the ox knew Bethlehem. his owner, and the ass his Lord's crib. On the way thither he saw the well, of which he had previously wondered at the account, and saw on the surface of the water, going from edge to edge, the figure of the star, which appeared to the Magi when our Lord was born, and led them to Bethlehem on the thirteenth day after our Lord's Nativity. From thence they went to Thecua, where the children of Tecua. the age of Christ were slain by Herod, and Nathanael, hidden by his mother under a fig-tree, escaped ; and hence our Lord said to him : ' When thou wast under the fig-tree, I knew thee.' Then by the Laura, where St. Saba S. Saba. rests, they came to the village of Beitzur to the water, which is dried up in the same place where it springs forth. In that place it was that the Ethiopian, who came from the uttermost parts of the earth to visit the Temple of the Lord, was baptized by Philip, outrunning Israel who was near at hand, and ' changed his skin,' that is, being made white by faith he put off the blackness of sin. When

¹ This curious tradition is not mentioned in the *Hodæporicon*. It may have been related to St. Willibald on the spot, as it does not occur in any Commentary that I have seen.

Gaza. they went from hence to Gaza, as he was hearing solemn Mass at St. Matthias, St. Willibald lost his eyesight.

Afframia. XIII. Then through the castle of Afframia, where the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob with their wives rest, he returned to Jerusalem, and having entered the church built where the Holy Cross was found, he received his sight after two months of blindness. Then, Lydda. having visited the church of St. George at Diospolis [he Joppa. passed] through Joppe, a coast town of Palestine, where Peter raised to life the widow Dorcas, and went along the shore of the Adriatic Sea, and adored the footsteps of our Tyre. Lord at Tyre and Sidon. And then, crossing Mount Libanus, and passing through the coast town of Tripoli, Emmaus. he visited Damascus again, and came to Emmaus, a village of Palestine, which the Romans after the destruction of Jerusalem called, after the event of the victory, Nicopolis. There, in the house of Cleopas, now changed into a church, they adored Him, who was in that house known by the breaking of bread; and desiring the well of living water, he saw the fountain which is on the high road, in which Christ, on the same day on which He rose again from the dead, walked with the two disciples, and turned aside as though to another town. For there is the fountain at which Christ, when He lived on earth, is said to have come, and having made a certain journey, washed His feet in it; and from that time the same water has been made by God efficacious in various medicinal ways, so that when it is drunk it infuses the presence of health from any ailments both of man and beast.

Jerusalem. XIV. Then St. Willibald came to Jerusalem a third time, and stayed there the whole winter. Nevertheless, after travelling through Syria, he again visited Jerusalem for the fourth time. And then he passed through Sebastia. famous for the tomb of St. John the Baptist, although it

had been destroyed in the time of Julian the apostate ; and also for the relics of the prophets Abdias and Eliseus, and the well where our Lord asked a drink from the Samaritan woman. He saw the mountain Garizim, on which the Samaritan woman said that the fathers of the Samaritans had been used to pray. And they came to the head of Mount Libanus, near to Tyre and adjoining the mountain, Tyre. and on their journey they encountered a fierce attack from lions. From thence, after a long waiting at Tyre for a ship, they began their voyage on the Feast of St. Andrew, and were at sea through the whole winter, and only just before Easter Week arrived at Constantinople, celebrated for the relics of the holy Apostles Andrew, Timothy, and Luke the Evangelist, and John Chrysostom. There they stayed for two years, and meanwhile crossed over to Nicea, the city of Bithynia, where Constantine assembled the hundred and eighteen bishops to discuss the controversy between Arius and Athanasius, the Alexandrian leaders ; and there is the church in which they sat at the Council, with no roof over it, like that on Mount Olivet. Returning to Constantinople, and traversing again the sea-passage by the cities of Sicily, Syracuse, and Catana, they arrived at Sicily. Rhegium, and thence to Naples, and so to Capua.

XV. At length, when the autumn was drawing in towards the winter, St. Willibald settled himself on Monte Cassino, M. Cassino. at the monastery of St. Benedict, under the Abbot Petronax. And this was the tenth year from the beginning of his exile, and the eighth from his setting out from Rome.

After the holy man had united himself to the monks of the place aforesaid, he exhibited in himself most fully the type of conventual life and most religious conversation. And therefore the love of all was attracted towards him, and the first year after he came he was made sacristan of the church ; in the second, dean of the monastery ; and

after that for eight years porter¹ in the two monasteries founded there—four years at the monastery at the top of the mountain, and four years more at the monastery lower down near the river Raphito.

XVI. At that very time in the countries of the Teutons there was a celebrated man, Boniface, both in deed and name, Archbishop of the Church of Mayence. He was also an Englishman by birth, and a relation of St. Willibald, and he was afterwards, having converted the ferocious Frisians, to be a renowned martyr of Christ. He, when he was considering over the planting of the nourishing (seed) of the Christian religion, and earnestly seeking to collect from every quarter able and needful (labourers) for this work, heard of the fame of St. Willibald, and how he was wholly given to divine contemplation at Monte Cassino. When, therefore, the said Archbishop came to Rome, after conferring with the Apostolic Ruler on the state of the Catholic Church, he added, that he was sorely exercised in himself about the Archbishopric of Mayence, committed to his own care, wide and spacious in land and territory, but wretched in the extreme from its pagan usages. The harvest was great, but the labourers were few, and when unavoidable necessity compelled its pastor to render an account of what was committed to him, and the blood of his subjects should be required of the prelate set over them, one pastor was not sufficient for so numerous a flock.

¹ The Rule of St. Benedict prescribes: 'Let such men be chosen Deans as the Abbot may safely trust to share his burdens; let them not be chosen according to order, but for the merit of their lives, and for their wisdom and learning.'—*Rule*, chap. xxi.

The Porter: 'At the gate of the monastery let there be placed a wise old man, who knoweth how to give and receive an answer, and whose ripeness of years suffereth him not to wander about.'—Chap. lvi.

These offices are eloquent testimonies to the mature wisdom of the still youthful Willibald.

And so, if God willed, and if the Apostolic authority permitted, he had resolved to divide that diocese, and establish two bishops in it, so that a less numerous charge might preserve the flock, and relieve the pastor. He also said that there was at Monte Cassino a monk, one Willibald, who had for love of God left his parents and country, and, after a period spent in the long labour of travelling and visiting the holy places, was there devoted to the service of God. To him he wished to commit one of his proposed bishoprics, if the Lord Pope would charge himself with withdrawing him from his monastery, and send him to him. Gregory ruled at that time over the Apostolic See, the third of that name, and the ninety-first pope.* He, having heard the laudable desire of Archbishop Boniface, approved of his intention, and promised that St. Willibald should be sent; and then, folding Boniface to his heart with long embraces, and sobs full of affection, he let him depart.

XVII. Not long after this, St. Willibald, having com- Rome.
pleted ten years at Monte Cassino, came to Rome, by the permission of his abbot, Petronax, with a certain brother of theirs, a Spaniard by nation. The blessed Pope, when he heard of his coming, called for him, and, after many questions and answers, made known to him the request of St. Boniface. Willibald thought it hard, and contrary to the life that he had proposed for himself. He urged that he had renounced his own [country, and friends, and goods],¹ that he who had trampled the world under his feet ought not again to be entangled in worldly affairs, and he did not wish to be deprived of the peace that he had prepared for himself in this vale of tears; neither was it the part of a prudent man, or of one sound in mind, who, after a dreadful shipwreck had gained the port, that he should with hesitating steps again trust himself to the sea

¹ Propria.

which had threatened him with a cruel death.¹ On which the Pope then used these or similar words to him: 'The love of God is proved by the love of our neighbour. Hence, when [our Lord] heard Peter say three times that he loved Him, He committed to him the care and feeding of the flock. Divinely instructed by this, the holy Fathers have committed the episcopate to many who have been torn away from the quiet of the monastery, and many from solitary contemplation. My predecessor and namesake, Gregory, though in mind and habit a monk, was set over the Apostolic See. Moses the hermit, famous for innumerable miracles in the desert, was torn away from the solitary life that he was leading at the request of Queen Manuia to the Roman Emperor, and placed as bishop over the nation of the Saracens, and in a short time he won to Christ that most fierce nation, and clothed them in the fleece of lambs.² Therefore, whoever indued with [necessary] powers refuses prelacy, and prefers his own peace to the welfare of others, will be deserving of suffering the pains of

¹ This conversation lacks the simplicity of that related in the *Hodæporicon*, although it is by no means inconsistent with it.

² The Roman Martyrology says, on February 27, 'In Egypt the feast of Moses, a venerable bishop, who at first led a solitary life in the desert, then, at the request of Mauvia, Queen of the Saracens, was made bishop, converted that most ferocious nation in great part to the faith, and made glorious by his merits rested in peace.'

It is curious that the very next entry, on the same day, should be: 'At Lucca, in Tuscany, the burial of St. Richard, King of the English.'

Sozomen gives a very graphic account of how Queen Mavia (she was so called by Socrates, etc., though some writers give the name Mania, and our author combines the two into Manuia) defeated the forces of the Emperor Valens, about A.D. 373, and refused to make peace unless Moses was given to her for their bishop. Moses refused to be consecrated by Lucius, the Arian successor of St. Athanasius, and Valens was obliged to send him to the exiled bishops in order to receive consecration. See Sozomen, H. E., vi. 38.

as many damned [souls] as the number of sinners whose morals he might have corrected if he had been a prelate.'

By these and such-like arguments the mind of St. Willibald was moved, and, throwing himself at the feet of the Pope, he professed himself ready to submit his devoted shoulders to whatever burthen might be imposed upon him. And thus, much instructed and fortified with the apostolic benediction, he was directed, a saint to a saint, Willibald to Boniface; and the holy Archbishop received him as an angel sent down from heaven, embraced him with gracious affection, and honoured him most worthily.

XVIII. Henceforward, the case of his own vocation having been made clear to him, [Boniface] asked St. Willibald to be so good as to go and look at the place over which he was to be set as prelate. It was a place in the confines of Bavaria, called Eihstat, handed over to the same Archbishop, and delivered to him by a certain pious and religious [prince] named Suiger, for holy uses in view of a Divine reward. In this place St. Boniface, while it was still in his own diocese, had determined to found a bishopric, and to set St. Willibald over it. He went, he saw, and he approved of it; and returned to St. Boniface; and then, in his company, again went to his own place, and received there, by the consecration of the archbishop, the perfection of the rank of the priesthood. Without any delay he began to lay the foundations of his church, to mark out the cloister and offices for the clergy, and wisely to arrange all things necessary for divine service.

When a year had elapsed he heard that the Archbishop was in Thuringia; and, on his way to him he received an acceptable hospitality at his brother Wunebald's, whom he had not seen for eight years and a half, since they parted in Rome. From thence he went to his archbishop at Salzburg, where, with the concurrence of the body of Salzburg.

bishops, and the consenting voice of the clergy and people, he received episcopal consecration and the see of the church of Eihstat, being then in the forty-first year of his age.

Having, then, undertaken the episcopal charge, he gave himself no rest, day and night preaching the Word of God, arousing the sluggish mind of that nation, little careful of the future, to the hope of heavenly [joys], and, putting aside the care of vain things, he led them to seek those that are eternal. And, lest the husbandman of the faith should reap little profit, that which he planted by his word he watered by his life consistent with his teaching. In a short time the rude field of wretched hearts so responded to the working of the Gospel mattock, that the fruit was seen to rise out of the ignorant ground, the weeds of errors were uprooted, and the ruddy cornfields and vineyards of the God of Hosts sprang up.

XIX. After he had moulded his diocese most worthily with the rules of wholesome life for seven years,¹ he desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, he rendered up his spirit to his Creator, and was buried in the church over which he had presided. How great in merit he is now with God is testified by the crown of justice which the brilliant miracles at his tomb bear witness that he has received.

NOTE ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ST. WILLIBALD.

THE pilgrimage of Willibald was made a few years after the defeat of Moslemah before the walls of Constantinople; and whilst the war between the Byzantines and the Arabs was being carried on, in a desultory manner, along the southern slopes of the Taurus. This may explain the scarcity of provisions on the south coast of Asia Minor (XI.); and the suspicion with which Willibald and his companions were regarded upon their arrival at Emesa (XII.). Once having entered

¹ This is a mistake. St. Willibald was consecrated in 741, and did not die until A.D. 786, after an episcopate of forty-five years. 'Seven times seven years' would have been nearer the mark.

the country under Arab rule, they appear to have been well treated and to have experienced no difficulty in moving from place to place. This accords with the well-known tolerance of the Omniad Khalifs; and the apparently hurried departure of the pilgrims may have been due to the active renewal of the war with Byzantium, and the general excitement attending Moslemah's invasion of Asia Minor.

It seems probable that the Waltham (Waldheim) at which Willibald was brought up was Bishop's Waltham, in Hampshire, and not the more famous Waltham Abbey. At any rate, he and his companions embarked at the mouth of the Hamble (Hamel-Muth), which rises near Bishop's Waltham, and falls into the Southampton Water a little below Netley; and they appear to have sailed up the Seine as far as Rouen. Thence they journeyed to Rome, and after a prolonged stay there proceeded to Ephesus, visiting on the way Syracuse, the Peloponnesus, Chios, Samos, and other places. The route from Ephesus presents some difficulties from the fact that Willibald is said (XI.) to have sailed from Patara to Miletus (Milite) and thence to the mountain of the Galliani, and Cyprus. It has been suggested that the pilgrims went by land to Patara, passing Hierapolis (Stroboli, derived from *εἰς τὴν ἱεράπολιν*); and that they afterwards returned to Miletus, where they took ship for Cyprus. But a land journey, from Hierapolis across the rough Lycian mountains to Patara, would have been most unusual, especially in late autumn or early winter; and it is far more natural to suppose that Miletus is misplaced in the narrative, and that they travelled in the usual and easier way, by water, from Miletus to Patara. According to this view, which receives some support from the omission of Miletus in 'the Itinerary,' the pilgrims walked along the coast from Ephesus to Pygela (Figila), Trogilium (Strobolis), and Miletus, whence they sailed for Patara. Having passed the winter at that place they crossed over to the Promontorium Sacrum, or to Anemurium (mountain of the Galliani), and thence to Paphos, now *Bapho*, in Cyprus. From Cyprus they proceeded to Antaradus (Tharratae, now *Tartús*), whence they travelled up the Valley of the Eleutherus, now *Nahr el-Kébir*, past Arche (probably derived from Macra), the Crusading *Krak des Chevaliers*, to Emesa, now *Hums*, where they were imprisoned as spies.

The journey through the Holy Land presents no special features of interest; the value of the *Hodæporicon* lies in its being the only narrative extant of a pilgrimage in the eighth century, and thus forming a connecting link between Arculfus (670) and Bernardus Monachus (865). Willibald was above all things a pilgrim—a visitor of sacred places, and an adorer of saintly relics; he was not a scientific observer. We learn little about the people, the condition of the country, or the state of the towns; and the only things that seem to have interested him, outside his religious duties, are the buffalo at *Tell el-Kady*, the lion he encountered on the plain of Esdraelon, and the eruption on the island of Vulcano. Still there are many notices of interest, such as those of the church, two miles from Damascus, at the place where St. Paul was converted; the black-mailing of the Christians of Nazareth by the Arabs, who threatened to destroy the church; and of the church on Mount Tabor, the only remaining representative of the three churches seen by Antoninus and Arculfus (XIII.). Capharnaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin were visited, but the narrative (XIV.) does not assist us in determining their sites. It only seems clear that

Chorazin was not at *Kerazeh*, and may have been at *Khersa*, on the eastern shore of the lake. The church, at the place where Christ was baptized in Jordan, built on lofty vaults, by the Emperor Anastasius, to protect it against the floods of the river, was still standing (XVI.); and so was the wooden church at Galgala in which the 'twelve stones' from Jordan were kept (XVII.). The most interesting notices of the Holy Places at Jerusalem are: the reference to the Church of Calvary, with the three memorial crosses outside its eastern wall; the statements that the stone in front of the door of the sepulchre was a copy of the one which the angel rolled away (XVIII.), and that the Church of Sion was in the middle of Jerusalem (see Appendix II., Antoninus); the connection of Solomon's Porch with the Pool of Bethesda (XIX.); and the allusion to a column, outside the gate leading to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which marked the spot where, according to tradition, the Jews wished to carry off the body of the Virgin Mary as she was being borne to the tomb by the Apostles (XX., XXI.).

There is an interesting reference to the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem as cruciform (XXII.); and Hebron is called *Aframia*, possibly a corrupt form of *Abrahamia* (XXIV.). Before visiting Hebron Willibald appears to have travelled to Gaza by the road followed by Antoninus, and Theodosius in the sixth century, but he does not mention several of the places pointed out to them, such as the place where David killed Goliath, Samson's fountain, etc. He agrees with the earlier pilgrims in placing the tombs of St. John the Baptist, Obadiah and Elisha at Samaria, but falls into a curious error with regard to Jacob's Well, which he says was near the fortress *Sebastia* (XXVII.). Perhaps, as he mentions the mountain on which the Samaritans worshipped in connection with the well, he may have forgotten the distinction between Samaria and Shechem at the time he dictated his narrative. It may be remarked, however, that Antoninus makes a similar error, and writes of 'Samaria which is now called Neapolis' (VI.), where there was a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist. On leaving Palestine Willibald followed the road from Ptolemais to Tyre across the *Râs el-Abyad*, which he calls 'the head of Libanus,' and here the Arabs appear to have established a guard-house (the tower of Libanus), at which travellers were obliged to show their passports. From Tyre he went by sea to Constantinople, and there he remained two years in the monastery attached to the great Church of St. Sophia, in which John Chrysostom was buried. The years were those during which the iconoclastic policy of Leo III. was convulsing the Eastern and Western worlds, and embittering the contest which ended in the separation of Central Italy from the Byzantine Empire. But of those stirring events we are told nothing; the only interesting information in the chapter (XXIX.) devoted to Constantinople is that the church at Nicæa, in which the Council was held, was similar to the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, and therefore circular in plan. From Constantinople Willibald returned to Italy, and eventually passed on to the scene of those labours with which his name will ever be identified.

C. W. W.

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THE END.

The Right Rev. W. R. BROWNLOW, Bishop of Clifton, writes with reference to 'The Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald,' which he kindly translated and edited for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, that, when visiting Lucca last November, he saw the tomb of St. Richard, the father of St. Willibald. On the front of his altar there is an inscription enclosed in a circle as follows :



'I could not discover any fragment of the Inscription copied by Evelyn in 1645. There was an old worm-eaten copy of it, printed on paper, and mounted on a board. The old Church of St. Frediano, Irish Finnian, is extremely interesting, and dates from the sixth century ; as also is the Cathedral.

'I thought you might be interested to know that St. Richard, whom Mr. Kerslake makes out was King of Crediton, is still known at Lucca.'

The following works have been translated and issued:

1. **The Holy Places Visited by Antoninus Martyr.** (560-570 A.D.)
2. **The Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula.** (382 A.D.)
3. **Procopius on the Buildings of Justinian.** (560 A.D.)
4. **Mukaddasi.** Description of Syria. (985 A.D.)
5. **The Bordeaux Pilgrim.** (Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, 333 A.D.)
6. **The Abbot Daniel.** Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land. (1106-1107 A.D.)
7. **The Crusader's Letter from the Holy Land to England.** (1281.)
8. **The Norman-French Description of Jerusalem and Country.** Translated and annotated by Major CONDER, R.E.
9. **The Travels of Nazir-i-Khusrau.** Translated by GUY LE STRANGE.
10. **Arculfus de Locis Sanctis.** Translated and annotated by REV. R. MACPHERSON.
11. **Joannes Phocas de Locis Sanctis.** (1185 A.D.) Translated by AUBREY STEWART, M.A.
12. **Paula et Eustochium de Locis Sanctis.** (386 A.D.) Translated by AUBREY STEWART, M.A.
13. **Eucherius**—about certain Holy Places (440 A.D.) and Short Description of Jerusalem (530 A.D.). Translated by AUBREY STEWART, M.A., and annotated by Col. Sir CHARLES W. WILSON, K.C.B.
14. **Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg.** (1160-1170 A.D.) Translated by AUBREY STEWART, M.A., and annotated by Col. Sir CHARLES W. WILSON, K.C.B.
15. **The Churches of Constantine at Jerusalem.** Translations from Eusebius and the Early Pilgrims by JOHN H. BERNARD, B.D., with preface by Col. Sir CHARLES W. WILSON, K.C.B., D.C.L. Introduction, explanatory notes, and drawings by Prof. T. HAYTER LEWIS, F.S.A.
16. **The Pilgrimage of S. Silvia of Aquitania to the Holy Places,** (385 A.D.) Translated, with introduction and notes, by JOHN H. BERNARD, B.D., with an appendix by Col. Sir C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., D.C.L.
17. **Theoderich's Description of the Holy Places.** (1172 A.D.) Translated by AUBREY STEWART, M.A.
18. **The Hodœporicon of Saint Willibald.** (754 A.D.) Translated by the REV. CANON BROWNLOW, M.A.

Preparing:

1. **Felix Fabri** (Mr. AUBREY STEWART, M.A.).
2. **Fetellus** (Rev. J. R. MACPHERSON).

